

JÓZEF HERMAN PAWLIKOWSKI

Can Poles reclaim their independence

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION



Józef Herman Pawlikowski

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Dedicated to people enlightening the Polish nation despite Poles' unwieldiness.

Józef Pawlikowski
(1767—1829)

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Preface

Nowadays Poland has disappeared from the society of European powers. Whether this tragic fate lasts forever or is only a temporary defeat, similar to floods that destroy everything but do not consume it when their mad turmoil subsides, and the property is marked by great losses. What kind of political problem might this be, so that it can really be solved? What great interest the Poles have in predicting their future well. If only justice were due to nations, we could invoke it: so that a nation that did not invade others, that did not seek fraudulent gains, but wanted to improve the fate of its countrymen, a nation among which many righteous defenders lay on the altars of misfortune, devoured by death, and yet in the last struggle were the first to internalise the civic virtues of this century in Europe, while they were the last men standing.

Should such a nation not only endure, but also be counted among the powers and be highly respected? But alas, justice among nations is one nightmare! The iron of bandits surrounds everything with grim fury, takes, plunders, appoints governments, while millions of innocents live under the yoke of depraved scoundrels... Pole! Have you seen how futile your complaints are in Europe? Be sure that if you wish happiness, virtue and glory for yourself and your descendants, you should use the means and the power that nature has poured into the soul of men to preserve righteousness. It seems as if I am offering a sacrifice on the altar of the fatherland when I open my mind to the attainment of that independence, when I reveal to my countrymen the faults that have prevented them from rising to a level that instils respect in foreigners and confirms happiness; also, when I bestow righteousness on the qualities that can lead them to greatness.

Weaknesses of the Poles that prevent them from gaining political independence

A nation striving for independence must necessarily rely on its strengths. If it does not feel that it can maintain its existence by its own efforts, but depends on foreign support or grace, we can boldly admit that it will not attain happiness, virtue, or glory. We can see from history whether the country whose memory we admire has attained high glory under foreign patronage? Truly, we can observe sad effects of it. Leaving aside other examples, we should remember how the Romans respected the Greeks, from whom they learned wise laws, but when the latter began to interfere with the government of the former, they finally thrust the yoke into their backs. When the Poles trusted in their own strength, they extended their victorious arms from Vienna to Moscow. Due to the lack of self-respect and constant recourse to foreign help, they fell into dishonour and under a foreign yoke. The dishonourable opinion of themselves began when the Polish nobles did not have the good of the country in mind but supported the arrogance of the powerful families. Every party that did not have a king and tried to appoint a ruler for their countrymen reached out to foreign courts to provide them with military support and money and multiply their supporters. The longer the ranks of the powerful families were, the more surely, they won in the courts and made policies in the regional councils that were useful only to themselves, amassing powerful wealth that could not be found in other European countries.

The weaker had to seek shelter with the powerful, so that their possessions could not be snatched from them at the courts. Neighbouring kings who wanted to intrigue in Poland approached magnates and gave them money, and the latter commissioned their wretched clients or financed them with small sums to inspire disorder, needed by the monarch who paid them (1). For this reason, Polish nobles, who were clearly a lord in public affairs, had the habit not to sacrifice for the fatherland, but to enrich themselves

through the disorder. It was in the interest of the magnates to persuade the nation to disgust and awkwardness, to convince it that it can achieve nothing on its own without an adjacent power, because they have already fallen under the stools of thrones that trade in the blood of the nation and rule with treacherous deals. It was in the interest of the magnates to weaken the spirit of their countrymen, to humiliate their properties, so that they would not feel compelled to discard dishonourable care, for without it all their influence and dignity would be nothing. A nation, of itself, without fear of anyone, not guided by favouritism, seeks to consolidate the virtue of its citizens by a wise policy and confirm their happiness, so that its general strength should be a permanent fortress; a law that restrains all passions equally, so that a gentleman cannot be violent or a cheat. Let us remember the opinion instilled in the Poles that they are incapable of industry, craft, and science, and what is worse, that they are incapable of defending themselves, and this sentence plunges us into misfortune. How should a nation of sixteen million, flourishing in the past, rivalling others in Europe in vivacity and manliness, and possessing the most fertile soil in the known world, not be free if it wished? He who knows the governments and the destinies of countries, should he not reflect? The Swiss, the Dutch near rocks and swamps, with a population ten times smaller, who have preserved their independence against equally powerful enemies. With much greater resources and treasures of nature, are we to be relegated to a dishonourable slavery? Superstitions and transgressions are far more harmful than skirmishes of war. With the greatest fertility of soil, these vices have almost starved the villagers; the Poles, who have an open understanding of the general sciences, have sunk into the thick darkness of ignorance. Rich in horses, iron, and all goods essential to war, they had no means of defence, such as are common even among savage peoples. (2). All drowned in misdemeanours, freedom without reins, nobles could be nothing but tyrants among the peasants; not only do hearts break when their cruelties are recalled, but the same imagination is horrified at their ways. Poles, you have recognised many of your weaknesses, you could take a different path, but know that you cannot be truly free unless you regain your independence by your own efforts. A nation that owes nothing to anyone except the friendship it offers, that deserves more respect, that unites only in a way that is conducive to its happiness; a nation

that is not bound by any motives, that chooses in reasonable procedures what the intellect considers good and not what is more pleasing to the stronger.

Into its character flows all that is thought from afar, which is great, which kindles courage and preserves manliness, and which elevates these attributes to goodness, virtue, and high glory. On the contrary, if nothing can be done without someone's permission, if every advice is for passion, for the interests of those who gave it identity, the soul will cringe, the thought that could elevate one to great and creative works will not rise, such a nation will remain despicable, nefarious, and slavish. I wish there were a law in Poland that would condemn to banishment or death those who seek the aid of even the kindest of powers to interfere with the government. The Dutch, the Swiss and the Americans would never become respected nations if they did not free themselves from violence by their own power. It must be admitted that the Poles hate the yoke, that they are enthusiastic about freedom and virtue, but their flaw is that they are as vividly inclined to boasting as they are fickle in success and weak in misfortune. There is not enough readiness for lawfulness and justice, but also manliness for their preservation. Unfortunately, I see the reason why Poles lack constancy of mind in misfortune is that they have not thought much, that they have thought little about the twists of fate and human activities. Misfortune can sometimes be considered like the head of a Cadmian, when it is decapitated, new armies arise. In time, accidents occur that human reason could not foresee.

The will to resist rape led to an oath of three Swiss. These good-hearted peasants made no plans, for their limited minds would not allow it. But a great response to the persecution, called with unity, inflamed others, so that they built a free, prosperous motherland, which for many centuries was considered the house of virtue. The American revolutionaries did not have the support of a quarter of their people (as Franklin's life testifies), but they attracted the public with the constancy of their spirit. Never is a plan made for revolution or battle or military campaign. The elements shake nature, everything springs from the natural course, the passions move like air vortices that do not purify and stop until the present, until the lightnings, which opposes them last. When an opinion arises, it has never aimed at such a force, which grows with time. I avoid opinions about religion from history but

let us take a recent example of freedom in France. A cloud of kings from Europe gathered to take over this nation and its rights. The French without officers, for the best of them emigrated, without preparation for war, inflamed with the righteousness of their cause, not only drive out the enemy, but grasp at a great power, overthrow thrones, or anoint them for continuance. The human mind clings to truth, the heart feels joy in righteousness, and when its flame lifts the soul, it gives it a peculiar vivacity in activities and causes extraordinary events that a cold and simple-minded attention could not notice. It could be said that Heaven has left for the consolation of men that never any tyranny or fraud will prevent the people (B) from using sustenance for their laws and opinions.

The art of war depends on so many events, on so many games of chance, that its rules are overturned by a blind event commonly known as luck. If the art of war were as infallible in its rules as mathematical calculations, the Dutch would not resist Spain, the Swiss would not resist Austria, and America would not resist England. New approaches, new weapons, a new kind of army would nullify all the approaches (*des manoeuvres*) to which soldiers are accustomed. The best Prussian cavalry was afraid and could not resist the polish spears. Whatever nation has a just cause, constancy in enterprise leads it to favourable effect. The fall of the Poles is not due to the situation of their country or their inability to resist the enemy, but to the instability of their spirit and energy. No one will contradict this obvious truth that if Ukraine were created like Greater Poland, the Moscow armies would have to retreat or divide into parts and thus weakened, it would be easy for us to liberate it. Not to mention the uprising in Galicia? Kościuszko's misfortune slowed down the momentum of the revolution and stopped the uprisings in other provinces. I respect the affection for a great man, I am moved by the floods of tears shed over his loss. Perhaps it is the most beautiful and touching tribute to a high virtue that we know in the history of the world. An honourable sentiment of a moral nation, an honourable respect for Kościuszko. Nevertheless, it is a stain for the countrymen that with the fall of a man it seems as if the Poles swoon and wonder what their own end will be (4).

It is a correct remark that praise for the living should be used sparingly, for praise can put virtue itself in jeopardy. Wherever you are, Kościuszko, if

a Pole boasts of your virtue, may he encourage you to preserve your spotlessness and beware of people's weaknesses. The most honourable title of the human soul you have attained, if you carry it to the grave in greatness, as you have shown in your past term, you will become an honour to mankind, the glory of the age, and the pride of your countrymen. I separate Kościuszko's military talents, but if all Poles, or even half of them, had this desire to save their nation from bondage, this unbroken spirit of enterprise, preferring to die rather than fail to achieve their goal or in any way deviate from the right demands, I wonder if they would not preserve their independence? But as men who have preserved justice and virtue are rewarded with fortunate events which they did not foresee, so, on the contrary, those who have not supported a deep feeling of the soul but follow a fleeting rapture or the play of fancy, beg for misfortune by abandoning the banners of humanity and badly seeking their personal safety, and they cheat for their own happiness. If the Poles held out all winter during the last uprising (which they could achieve), the King of Prussia would be forced to ask France for peace, as he declared in the German Diet at Regensburg, so he withdrew from the coalition for the Polish revolution. France would not agree to a peace treaty without forcing Frederick William to withdraw his armies from Poland and give reinforcements in the form of arms and other goods essential to the war effort.

The Prussian monarch would have to accept all conditions, because his country was exposed to great misfortune on the part of the French and the Poles, and his throne was in danger of falling. Let us remember that the French had won the most brilliant victories during that winter, obtaining the Dutch, and coming very close to the Prussian states. I will not mention any other real circumstances, but everyone will realize that the French had an interest in supporting the Poles, for only that one nation in Europe took up arms with them to leverage the laws of nations. Of what great benefit would it be for the French to draw Moscow away, and for Austria to have an opponent from the other side? We understand that other powers would have no interest in raising a country that would become dangerous to Petersburg barbarism. All has been lost to our senility, and about whom should we complain that we bear a foreign yoke?

The Poles have the stain of blind imitation, that is the result of petty thinking and weighing. Because we have a case with the French, we also desperately want to have the same resources, the same army, the same passions, and we seem to think that without them we will not achieve our goals. But we must remember that our country is different, it has a different location, a different wealth, a different national character, and therefore it needs a different defence and different methods of warfare. We should, without thoughtless imitation, look for means among ourselves which, if skilfully employed, will certainly have a favourable effect.

Does the Polish nation have the means and what kind of means for insurrection?

Not having the courage for bold and virtuous undertakings, they will stage insurmountable difficulties if they think of aiming at such deeds, and seeing inciting examples with their own eyes, they will find impenetrable difficulties for those circumstances which favour them and for themselves. They say that the Swiss are protected by the mountains, the Dutch by the marshes, the Americans by the separation of the ocean from England, the French by the forts. Let us see how their argument is defeated by the measure and false preparations. We could see how the mountains helped the Swiss against the intrusiveness of the French, though they had their arsenals and learned officers, when they rose to freedom four centuries before, they were defenceless and unschooled, and then they triumphed over these who are now the vanquished. Was it similarly to be expected that compatriots of William Tell in the past not more than a little more than a million, resisted the great Austrian power? Energy, love of liberty, zeal for justice won all. Holland today counts 1,400,000 inhabitants and is rich. When it fought for independence with the most powerful power in Europe in that century, it had no more than half its present population and was the poorest country.

It had no war preparations because it was a Spanish province, no topographical position protected it, it was the manliness of its population that defended it.

The Americans, at the beginning of their revolution, had less than two million inhabitants, were disunited, had no resources, had no idea, no means, and no way to wage war, they invented new weapons, faced the enemy with manpower and demanded their independence. After several years of fighting, foreign reinforcements arrived (5). Instead of helping, the ocean weakened the Americans in relation to England. The latter, which had the strongest fleet, easily prevented the Americans from obtaining weapons, ammunition, and all the other necessities they lacked, so that they had to obtain them with difficulty either in Europe or in the islands. Did or could forts defend France? When the Prussian king invaded Champagne with 60,000 Prussian soldiers, was there a fortress that could stop him, or was it the number of French citizens? Were not some of the fortresses abandoned? From Champagne to Paris there is no fortress, the French army was not numerous, but the crowds of the gathered citizens encircled the Prussians so that they had to retreat from France (6). When the enemies took Toulon, Lyons and Bordeaux and raged, when banners hostile to the Republic were raised in the Vendee, what stopped the enemies so that they could not reach Paris if not the manliness of the Republicans? We know that of Toulon, of Vendee there is no fortress. The French lacked weapons, ammunition, they privately collected what they had in weapons, they gave it to the fighters and used all their iron craftsmen to make weapons.

Since they had no gunpowder, they dug out the cellars and made saltpetre. They lacked iron, so they tore out the grates and melted cannonballs from them. Officers emigrated, so more capable soldiers were promoted. The energy of freedom was a fortress, it created everything where there was a shortage and brought victories. But let us not gallop to other examples, let us think of the Poles. Who would have said ten years before 1794 that with an army of 18,000 men, with an enemy within and our own government against us, we would make war with three powers, fight virtuously, and reach for higher rungs of glory. It seems that if someone promised to move mountains, he would be believed rather than this prediction. Even if through errors and our mistakes the nation's intentions were not crowned with

success, a beautiful revolution in Europe taught respect to the Poles, showed their triumph, a peasant understood that he was newly minted when he heard that he was allowed to be free, that he was right and equal to other people. The enemies have shed our blood with relentless fierceness, but never have they respected a nation so much (I avoid the eulogies of Europe) as after the last uprising. Human reason has so much strength that even a brutal crime cannot reject respect for it (7).

We had before us the example that neither plurality nor old military ranks win, but the zeal for virtue, liberty, and an enduring mind. The defence of Warsaw, which in between told of military miracles, or was maintained due to the number or thanks to the skill of the soldiers, knowing that 16,000 Poles were there, among them peasant soldiers (kossyniers) (8) and more than 40,000 among the enemy in action. The same Frederick William who had besieged a fortress with the strongest force could not take Warsaw on a plain without a castle, open on all sides, after two months of offensive and encirclement. If the Poles did not slacken their efforts, they could prevail. Only cold souls and narrow minds reckon that we have petty methods. We had fewer resources in 1794 than in 1792, three times less army and three times smaller country. Can you compare the military deeds of 1794 and the glory of the nation with the deeds and glory of 1792? Those who worked for the revolution in 1794 know that when they gathered, the one who did not want to make a sacrifice of his own accord said that we should not start a rebellion, that the nation was idle and without courage, looked up to the enemies for fighting spirit and wisdom, and ended this thought that we should think of independence only in times of parliament... Similarly, now, who is not a friend of humanity, who does not want to serve the happiness of compatriots and freedom, will scare them with imagination and will not try to overcome difficulties, overcome them and facilitate advantages. Let us analyse our methods.

Before the first partition Poland had 16,000,000 inhabitants, before the second partition it numbered half a nine million. According to Bushing, this calculation was made before the year 1775, from then on, many inhabitants were added. Austria before our partition had 17,000,000 people, Prussia only 3,500,000, Moscow except Crimea more in Asia and Europe over 20,000,000, and of these parts $\frac{4}{5}$ in Europe and $\frac{1}{5}$ in Asia. We should al-

ways consider Poland within our first limits, it should never seem to a virtuous countryman that this part is a creation of malice, and we should always expect that these ravenous wolves (as Mirabeau called the kings who divided Poland) will not hold the captured trophy in their claws. In the Revolution of 1794 the Poles, who had been under Prussian rule since the first partition, nobly showed that attachment to their fatherland was in their blood. We understand that under the occupation of the Emperor and Moscow there are no Polish hearts, no great souls who would love the freedom and happiness of their countrymen? If we put the population of Poland before the first partition in proportion to the population of our enemies, the ratio of one to two and a half is not quite correct; those who want to establish the ratio after the partition obviously have it easy. I consider France at the beginning of the Revolution and the war. Its population compared to the population of its enemies should be in a ratio of one to five (9). If we look at France when it was in turmoil in the Vendee, Toulon, and Lyon, we could calculate it at 1:8 at that time, Switzerland at 1:20, similar to the Netherlands.

In this ratio we see that our enemies do not come in droves, if they are afraid, countries with larger populations have more fear. We can consider this as our beginning, but the longer the revolt lasts, the more the enemies weaken, and the forces of revolution can grow. We could see a similar example in France. Would not a Moscow peasant, tormented by cruelty, hurry to break his yoke if only he had the right circumstances? Let us suppose that an oppressed Cossack would not want to regain his liberties? Let us add that Little Russia, with 4,000,000 inhabitants, is the most populous of the countries around Moscow. If this part were revolutionised, in what condition would the throne in Petersburg be? Smolensk and Kiev are old Polish domains. Every day a Prussian becomes more enlightened and realises that he is not cattle of the royal treasury. Some enslaved provinces would like to get rid of their yoke. How much would Imperial and Prussian Silesia gain by allying with Poland. The imperial lands are close to us linguistically, the latter with old ties; they would not be too hasty in fighting the Poles, and in the face of emerging freedom we might have a flickering hope that they would desire it themselves. Would not the Hungarians wish to be independent? (10). It's all about the weapons. At the beginning of the revolution, the Poles

should not try to form military columns, but to condemn and destroy the enemy.

With time and circumstances, armies are formed. Our country is open, flat, easy to enter, but as J.J. Rousseau says: Poles should not make the enemy think about entering their country but make efforts so that he does not leave it. This means that it is a small war (*la petite guerre*): tear the enemy apart and block food resources. The Parthians, who had a land similar to ours, won against the Romans with this type of battle, the most famous of all tactics. Loid notes in his work on Poland: Cavalry is needed for its defence, so that it disturbs and destroys the enemy's food supplies. There is no nation in Europe better suited to raise a fast cavalry than the Poles. Each of them can ride (they must learn that in other countries), they have a pike and a cutlass in their hands, and they can be quite useful in the objective we are aiming at. For infantry, we have the best weapon based on a scythe and there is no army in Europe that cannot be defeated with it. The French won all battles by taking the most inaccessible places, using cannons against the enemy, they harried with the bayonet, they used firearms little or not at all. The bayonet was a victorious weapon. The scythe is even more useful because it is longer and reaches the enemy faster, the bayonet only pierces, the scythe pierces, and cuts. The bayonet is used against the infantry, and it is necessary to have a good army so that it can defend itself against the cavalry with the bayonet, then the bayonet is a purely defensive weapon, the scythe can not only block the cavalry, but attack and defeat them, the bayonet is against one, one soldier with a scythe with physical strength can injure three or four at the same time.

Many contemporary military writers point out the waste of firearms in battles and advise returning to pikes, as the ancients did (11). We know how many futile shots are fired from cannons before they achieve any effect. Considering how long the cannons aim at a particular spot in a fast encounter, the slightest carelessness is a futile shot. The longer the cannon fires, the more it heats up, the fewer shots it can fire. The cannon fires in all directions, and its rotation cannot be rapid, as is the case with those who attack from the front, from the sides, and from behind. A long-range shot is futile because it is impossible to aim. The cannon only frightens people and creates an impression in the imagination. Finally, any change of air, rain, he-

adwind, fog, twilight makes aiming with the cannon unlikely, so the shot is not useful at all. But let us take an example. At night, 400 peasants with scythes gathered before the battle of Raclawice, which had begun in the morning. Kościuszko stood in front of them and said: „It is about our freedom, come with me”. They jumped willingly, in spite of cannonball fire they stormed the battery, took the guns, no bayonet offered resistance; partly they killed, partly they took all the Muscovites hostages. May they wield their scythes with equal courage (that may be), may they speak the same language to the peoples, and the scythes will be victories over all weapons (12).

I want the generals and officers to talk to the people, to the soldiers, and convince them. The Roman generals did not start the battle without demonstrating in a speech to those about to fight the reasons for the war, the rightness of their cause. The need to foster courage, the need to kindle zeal in the fighters, and how was this to be accomplished without appealing to them? The human soul is not a physical machinery, it cannot be moved by a wave of the hand, but only by moral means. I would like all generals and commanders to say to those they lead into battle. „These are the enemies who want to tear your fatherland apart and take possession of it, these are the ones who oppose the freedom of your ancestors, of your brothers, of yourselves, they are raising their soldiers so that we do not live as equals among us, so that we do not live as brothers, but consider each other slaves, in backwardness and contempt. We want you to be free, they want you to be vassals of kings without owning the fruits of your labour, to be dependent on their will, on their cruelty and chimaera. They want kings to make you recruits and lead them to steal in foreign lands. On this land, Poland, you were born, here is the inheritance of your ancestors, here are the graves of your ancestors, here are their ashes on which the enemy tramples with contempt and drags you, their descendants, into slavery. These are the enemies who helped each other rob your houses, dishonour your mothers, wives, and sisters, who carried Polish children on bayonets. Go with me now, I will supervise your inexperience, let us attack the enemy and not stop until death strikes him or until he no longer lays down his arms before us”

These and other reasons will excite the minds. Can our enemy say something similar? Iniquity abounds in excuses, but it will not find a way to move the heart. (13) The cruel Suvorov always spoke to the soldiers, he

had no reasons for correctness, he persistently indoctrinated them that they were the best army in all of Europe, he reminded some of their victories and therefore they acted more effectively under his command than under other generals. The more you instil manliness in someone, the more manly he becomes, and he will lose his good estimation of himself if you despise him. Some of the Polish generals disregarded the Kossyniers, for how would these people dare to act bravely if they did not think themselves brave under their command? Instead of instilling confidence in their weapons, they weakened it. Shallow minds thought that a person could not fight or was without a soul because his clothes did not have a uniform. It is not the quality of clothing or the type of weapons that makes a soldier, but the courage and will to win. I would like to see no general deployed to defend freedom who is not devoted to it. I do not rely on loyalty, because this virtue is common to slaves and vassals. Polish general and soldier, should not be a tool of military art, but also a citizen, property of each he should have as inviolate, each should be courageous, punitive and just, reliable. For not for one, but for the happiness of all weapons were taken.

It is necessary for the leader to inflame people for freedom, and how could he speak about it if he does not like freedom in his soul? What will be the effect of his efforts? And if I hear words that contradict my conviction, will such a sly soul protect my honour? (14) I understand that it is a true talent of the military man that he wants to skilfully use and apply the genius of the nation, the resources of the country and its situation from every because he fights for. In Kościuszko I see both the genius and a decisive defender of the rights of the people. Poland had no army, had no weapons, he created a national force, the Kossyniers. The human mind is not fixed in terms of inventions. If perseverance continues, who knows what kind of help will be found? The enemy called the scythe a dreaded weapon (15) The Americans had no cannons, they could not cast them, they assembled rails of iron and attacked the enemy with their help. They had no bullets for guns, they took the lead from the windows and made some out of it. Everything is achieved by zeal, and constancy of spirit will be victorious. Loyd wrote that freedom is the strongest source to awaken the bravery of those who fight. With it, the Spartans performed miracles, the Romans became the masters

of the world, the Swiss in the fourteenth century were heroes. If we pour enthusiasm into the soul of our people, not only can they not be defeated, but they must inevitably be victorious. Those who think they can start a revolution without the rights of freedom and equality will want to shed the blood of their countrymen in vain and will achieve nothing. Why should we start battles if we have no happy goal, the happiness of the whole nation? The more zeal the French had, the more fearsome they were to the enemy. What will not the Poles accomplish if they cultivate such a spirit and inherit great physical personal powers as no other people in Europe? What nation has been so fortunate as to gain the independence that we possess? Others did not know they could fight with a regular soldier, our peasants have some experience, they have been under fire, and in the provinces that have not arisen, they know that brothers fought with scythes and recaptured cannons. It is the soul of freedom that has spread throughout Poland among the peoples. Those who at first glance do not see the zeal they desire will find it in time if they have the constancy of spirit and do not stop trying to pour it into others. I witnessed when the Krakow peasants refused to enter the Kościuszko camp, how many excuses they used to leave it even after the Battle of Racławice, but when they realised that their freedom was at stake and it was very easy for them to seek shelter in Galicia (the Vistula only separated us, and it could be crossed with ease), they kept guards, and no one escaped. So, see later that in the villages guards were kept, their caution, their thoughts were directed to the elimination of the enemies. Let us think about the changes in the war

There will be an army, ten or a hundred thousand: if it wanted to camp together, it could take three miles of Polish land in its width, what damage it can do to the revolutionaries, who will be busy in small parts everywhere. A large army needs large camps, it will not gather them if the insurgents disrupt around them and hide food.

When an army begins to divide into smaller parts to decimate the insurgents or to acquire camps, the insurgents should at this time concentrate on small detachments and raid the enemy's ranks. In this case, they will be able to suppress, destroy and capture the enemy. The inhabitants have an easier time than the enemy in a small-scale war. The citizens know all the crossings, all the roads that the enemy does not know and cannot use, so they

should gather, approach, and attack the enemy secretly, then they will be able to hide faster. If it were necessary in Poland to hide in the woods from a larger enemy, what would the enemy's artillery or firearms do. A Pole with a rifle and a scythe will go through all the bushes and swamps, the enemy needs certain routes for artillery and a safe place to put a soldier. In the very last night attacks, the Poles can proceed with great skill, which will be very useful: the enemy artillery and shots from firearms will be useless; on the contrary, the scythe will do the most damage. At night, the enemy cannot raise an army, he cannot manoeuvre, everything remains confused. Even if they do not fight during the day and night, they will alert the enemy, their soldiers will get tired and many diseases can arise, weakening their courage.

If there was anything less regular than the Bar Confederacy, the Muscovites nevertheless explained how harmful the war was to them by comparing it to a hydra (17) whose heads keep growing back, and it is seen that for several years the Muscovite power was unable to smother it; then again, if the Confederates had not been to blame, it would have taken another form. The Bar Confederation consisted only of the nobility, and they were still divided into two halves and almost loyal to the king. The townsmen and peasants were indifferent to both sides. Can we doubt the good effects if the whole nation acted single-mindedly? Let us take an example from the Polish Revolution of 1794. The Prussian king besieged Warsaw with 40,000 soldiers, the uprising in Wielkopolska began in the rear of his army, and he was forced to retreat from Warsaw. There were no more than 6,000 of the revolutionaries in Wielkopolska. The Prussians in the garrisons in that country were equal, but the king could not maintain the siege any longer, as the Prussian regiments stationed there were endangered by hunger and cut off from their land. The corps was sent under the command of General Dąbrowski, numbering no more than 3,000 men. Virtue was needed to lead it, and talents greater than Turen or Caesar could never have delivered this handful of soldiers from ruin against such a multitude of enemies. But the Prussians were occupied by the insurgents all over the country, they were everywhere on the alert, guarding every nook and cranny, flaunting their army wherever several armed Poles appeared, and tired with these methods, torn in all directions, they could do no harm to General Dąbrowski's corps, to say nothing of the advantages he gained over them.

We know how much it depends in time of war on good spies to know the enemy's strength and where he is, for if the general does not learn this in advance, he cannot devise a plan of attack against the enemy. The Poles, constantly showing up in greater or lesser numbers, will put their enemies in uncertainty, afraid to meet the enemy at every step, they must think, pursue information about the country, and then the insurgents attack, especially at night, encircle and win. Only the knowledge of the country is necessary for the battle, so that Gustav Adolf, the first hero of his time, said: „Without this knowledge, even the greatest talents cannot do anything great: For the general can neither organize advance nor ambush (18). No one can know and use the army in a country, especially in a foreign one, as well as he who was born in it and lives in it. The French conquered Europe, but they could not overpower the Vendee. Never did the republicans suffer so much from a foreign army as in that province. But there the French were against the French, and the Vendean knew their place and were of solid valour; they could, if necessary, encircle the Republican army and destroy it in this way. If they agreed on their terms, they made peace. Shortly after, the Vendean war could be cancelled because the inhabitants did not want to participate. Some had understood that it was impossible to hold out without fortifications.

I understand that fortresses are not as useful to us as forests and field fortifications. Food must be rationed in a fortress. When the enemy sees his opponent, he will leave part of his army to besiege, and sooner or later he will take the fortress and the people in it (19). When the people are scattered over the land, the inhabitants are armed in the forests. When the enemy guards them in one place, they move to another, and then when he expects them at the front, they attack from behind. I suspect that for this kind of war I am invoking, even mountains would not help us much. You need cannons and firearms to keep the enemy from entering the mountains; and if the enemy dominates them, he will block all corridors, he can starve the country and oppress the inhabitants. In our plains, when the Poles are driven from one place, they will go to another. There is no place in our country that, once taken, is completely safe for the enemy. In some places there are forests several miles across, in some several dozen miles. The enemy needs large armies to surround a forest, some are impossible to surround, and

when an entire country is in turmoil, they are unable to besiege it because they attack it from all sides. We know how important communication is between armies. If a whole country is in turmoil and we deploy a light cavalry, it could get in between the enemies, cut off their communication so that it is greatly weakened, each of their corps becomes lonely, can no longer rely on any point, loses its strength and is thus easier to defeat.

It is very difficult or impossible to interrupt communication for the inhabitants, especially in the plains. They know all the secret crossings and can give each other signs to orient themselves by, and they are able to turn. I have already mentioned that the Poles should make the greatest effort to deny the enemy the sources of food, because without food even the best army weakens, falls ill, dies and in the end leaves the country or surrenders. An old habit of ours and a happy national instinct is to make warehouses. In many provinces it is the custom to bury the crops in dugouts. I wish they would adopt this method at once where they do not practice it. Near the forests where they have dug holes, they should be burned until they are dry, and then covered with straw, so that the crop will not rot when it is brought in and buried. In this way, we have warehouses everywhere. The enemy will not find them if the inhabitants do not want to and are easily persuaded if they get their freedom. What else is useful about it? Poles move from one place to another, they have no reason to carry crops with them, the enemy, wherever he will turn, needs warehouses. Thanks to the favour of nature, we have wood and earth everywhere, we can build batteries from it, and above all entrenchments (Redoubts) with protection against bombs (*à l'épreuve des bombes*), which are almost stronger than fortresses made of bricks or rocks. Inside they can build casemates that can be used for storage, food, and other things that the need requires.

The Americans have used similar things very effectively. They can hold 500 or a thousand people. Moreover, they are built so high and surrounded with a moat that the enemy cannot escalate but must try to take them or besiege them like a fortress. These redoubts do not need cannons for defence. Poles, these are your mountains, these are your fortresses that you can build by the thousands! This fortification surpasses the fortress in convenience, a method of building will be given to you. For we have iron, we have grain, we have wood, we have courage, daring and perseverance, and we will

maintain our independence. It is unlikely that a country as large as Poland, with a population of 16,000,000, can be conquered if the inhabitants fight back with energy and the desire to free themselves from slavery. There is no example in history, and lean countries like the Swiss and the Dutch regained their freedom whenever they wanted. We could see nations conquered with a handful of armies, machines against machines, the citizens were totally indifferent, but if one or two million want to fight, regular armies must be defeated. Let us now calculate the strength that the Poles could have against their enemies

Let us consider Moscow, the Emperor, and the Prussian King, not those who are unemployed with the war, but only those who fight with us. We know that Moscow has an army of 400,000 men, Austria 300,000, Prussia 200,000. The Moscow army is composed of various nations, Bashkirs, Kalmyks, etc., whose weaknesses we know.

This figure consists of territorial and naval power. The Poles believe that if they break through, they will proclaim freedom stronger than an army of a hundred thousand. As for the loyalty of the Cossacks, Moscow will not dare to rely on it, because they always long for their independence. You can see in all the previous wars of the Petersburg court that it did not send a hundred thousand-strong army from their country altogether. A strict government, hell would not invent a better one for human misfortune, needs many soldiers to keep the people in obedience. The whole German country, covering 300,000 German square miles, how much army it must contain! If we detach the Polish provinces from Moscow, the rest of the country except Livonia, it can call itself empty and weak. If the Polish revolution breaks out and we work to make the Moscow people feel our right, freedom, equality, united brotherhood, discipline, seriousness and honesty, the Petersburg court will have to double the number of armies to prevent uprisings. It seems to me that Moscow would not raise more than one hundred and thirty soldiers against Poland, but I have assumed 200,000. Austria, if not in debt and without a people, when England contributed reinforcements, did not raise more than 150,000 soldiers against the French (the rest came from the German Reich and the coalition); if now beset by misfortune, exhausted of resources, and receiving no funds from England, she could not send even half that number of soldiers.

The Austrian lands extend far, during the Polish Revolution Hungary and Silesia will require special care of the emperor, in spite of all these considerations I assumed that Austria would invade Poland with 160,000 men. The Prussian king never sent more than 60,000 soldiers into battle in any war, even with reinforcements from England. I think 100,000 soldiers against us is likely. Any power cannot throw everything into the war, even if it has a sufficient army. To raise an army with everything necessary costs almost twice as much as the soldiers' salaries. A monarchical government must not only subdue countries, but also keep track of events, i.e., if it experiences defeat, how to replenish the army. It is not easy to gather recruits immediately, just as it is easy to raise the peoples in Poland. Before a soldier or recruit gets from one frontier of Moscow to another, he needs half a year. In Prussia from the Rhine to the borders of Poland, in Austria from the Adriatic to Bielsk, several months pass. In a free country, after the appeal of the government, a citizen takes his weapons and fights, in monarchical countries recruits are taken by force, sometimes led in chains, he will not adapt so quickly to become a fighting soldier. We have another advantage: in the armies of the three powers that surround us, there are also Poles, and when they often laid arms to the French, they ran to them and did not want to fight, all the more we can expect that when Ukraine rises, Ukrainians will break through from the services of Moscow to their brothers, the citizens of Krakow from the Empire, the people of Greater Poland from Prussia.

The Prussian armies consist of a third of foreigners, who look only to the possibility of escape, we will make it easier for them. From the calculation of the forces of our opponents, which I have deduced, it appears that they can muster 450,000 men. I am firmly convinced that the enemies will add nothing to this number, but I prefer to multiply it to convince my countrymen that any struggle of the powers that separate us will never frighten us. If I count 16,000,000 people in Poland, I take for children, women four and the fifth able to fight will be 3,200,000. This mass, how should it not defeat the enemies? Even if half of them were to go into battle, we would have 1,600,000; if one-third, it would be 1,066,666. Our country covers 15,000 German square miles (30,000 French miles); for each German square mile we have 1,060 inhabitants, of whom 210 are fit to fight, and if you count 450,000 enemies in one German square mile, there are not more than thirty.

Who could doubt victory after this calculation? In the Revolution of 1794, in one battle, for example, in the Battle of Raclawice, there was one Pole against four Muscovites, during the siege of Warsaw one against three, and we were victorious, should we not expect greater advantages if we are more numerous than our opponents? If the Poles would establish a thousand points of insurrection (the more the better), the enemy would be torn into a thousand pieces.

I suppose that the initial insurrection will not be very numerous, but we must aim for a large crowd, because the enemy does not see his strength, as I have already mentioned, must hedge everywhere, and divide into parts. The longer the insurgency lasts, the more numerous it will be. The Poles are brave by nature, but we should not be discouraged if they do not show themselves to be heroes at first. The Americans at first fled from the English, but when they realized that not every shot is fatal and most do not even do harm, they dared to triumph over their tyrants. When the Prussian king led several hundred Prussians on the plains of Champagne, several thousand French ran away, subsequently taking the multi-storey batteries at Mons with sabres. At Arcona the soldiers did not want to cross a bridge, neither Augereau, who crossed it with banners, nor Bonaparte, who wanted to lead them, could force them to do so. If this example weakened the souls, the French might be beaten, but a fearless spirit would show with a misfortune that Bonaparte marched with the same soldiers to Vienna. The same Kossyniers who had escaped from Chelm stormed the cannons at Warsaw and became the terror of the enemy. With reward and punishment, you can lead anywhere. Unforgettable are the words of Peter I after the first defeat by the Swedes. All nations proceed in this way. The art of fighting is learned in war. Jourdan, Hoche, were simple soldiers, they did not know geometry, but they fought against the best German tacticians. Many French generals are strangers to the soldier's situation, like Brune, Moreau, and yet they triumph over the enemies of their fatherland.

Fighting depends on bravery and approach. The more you have the former, the more certain will be the victory, the more you allow the latter, unexpected and new. It is undeniable that the longer the Poles fight, the more fertile their minds will be for war strategies. As far as courage is concerned, the Poles do not yield to any other European nation. It is not the will to sur-

pass the qualities of my countrymen, but there have been instances in Italy when Polish legions have equalled the courage of brave Frenchmen. Pleasant feelings arise in every Pole when he hears of the wonderful deeds of his countrymen, but if he is unhappy in his loneliness, why is not this courage used to snatch his fatherland from foreign power? If tens of thousands of Poles who died in two Italian campaigns died defending the freedom of their countrymen, how would they save others, instil courage in their countrymen, and decimate the enemy? These brave people have perished in a foreign land, and their brothers are groaning in slavery... I happened to hear that when the shadows of death overtook him, Rymkiewicz wept that he had not died on earth for his fatherland... a sign of true virtue! ...You are his companions, if Heaven has endowed you with such talents, it is most honourable to use them to lead less experienced countrymen to victory. Whether fate gives you death in battle, or you will die in misery among your compatriots... This earth will give you a grave within that nourished you when you were young...

And if goodness crowns your striving, then the laurels from the hands of the fatherland are most beautiful, the greatest glory when you are of use to your own countrymen. You might think about the worry that the enemy will burn down the country furiously. We should consider that he would multiply savagery against himself. The enemy will burn the land if he cannot stay in it, otherwise he would abandon his army to desolation. But is there no way to prevent this crime? In 1794, when the Prussians began to persecute Poles, leading trembling women to the gallows and putting a noose around their necks, the National Council appealed and ordered, if the enemy did not stop committing atrocities, to apply a law of retribution (*des représailles*) with captured Prussians. From then on, humanity entered their heart ... It is known that at the beginning the coalition treated the French prisoners cruelly, but when it began to be beaten, it had to stop the inhuman steps and apply gentler means. When danger threatens, it is in the interest of every officer and even a soldier to make good with the enemy, for in time of war one cannot be sure that one will not be captured. The fighting spirit alone is not exempt from this fate, death can leave out even the one who wanted it, and incidents can combine to the misfortune of the people. Our country has no workshops, no crafts, the enemy cannot destroy it, for he

cannot set the earth on fire, nor deprive it of fertility, and with freedom and wise laws a flourishing state will arise. But should we keep the theatre of war in our country forever?

Moscow's borders are open, as is northern Prussia; imperial Silesia is not shielded. The Poles should concentrate there, proclaim freedom to the inhabitants, treat them humanely, let every action be a judgement of morality, thus we will bind hearts to us, and there will be a manifold viability. The enemies will increase in opponents and decrease in resources, at the same time they will have to leave or decrease the army in Poland to protect their country. After the Battle of Maciejowice, even though the Prussians held Kraków and Sandomir all the way to the Vistula River, when the Wielkopolska insurgents tried to storm Silesia (as they began to approach the border), the Prussians hastily left Kraków and Sandomir to protect Silesia, where the arts and crafts would suffer extraordinary damage, and the people always expressed their displeasure with the Prussian yoke. Dumourier showed in his memoirs how he wanted to move the war from Poland to Moscow at the time of the Bar Confederation. Because it was so simple. The borders of Moscow and Prussia are vast, it is almost impossible for the army to stand and guard everywhere, both powers have no fortresses on our side. As for fortresses, even in Montecuculli's time sensible military men had doubts about their usefulness. The present war has shown that fortresses with numerous armies do not substantially hinder the conquest of a country. A fortress with its garrison, as Dumas thinks, does not defend the country even within two miles. A fortress may be of use to a regular army, but the Poles must not concern themselves with besieging or capturing a fortress, but with rushing into the country and proclaiming freedom.

A fortress without the help of inhabitants will starve and must surrender. For a light army, like the Polish one, fortresses will be no obstacle, this kind of soldiers will overcome them. Every nation will greet freedom with joy because it is an element of its heart and happiness. Let us not pay attention to foreign examples to this extent. Everywhere those who promised to bring freedom were eagerly awaited. But when the indiscipline and the excesses of the army turned into crimes, people had to take up arms with woe to free themselves from oppression. Let the Poles connect every action

with morality, not only far from the immorality of the foreign army, let them be guided by humanity, may discipline block the way to crime, and the nation will look up to you with respect, align itself through attachment and contribute its strength to the faster victory

Poles! Do not wait for any circumstances, do not think of war or peace, from whomsoever. You have great forces, use them against your enemies and you will be victorious. For freedom, for justice, every moment is friendly, with them brave people create new circumstances. The Swiss, the Dutch, the Americans did not look with whom the tyrants are at war, they did not think about where the help should come from, their feeling led them to resist the violence, they fought for a long time, and later help came from outside. England and France, trying to weaken Spain, finally supported the Dutch. After years of American war, France, and Spain, who wanted to humiliate England, made a treaty with the Americans.

If our efforts are consistent, there will be powers in Europe that will want to join with us. Shall we understand that Moscow, Prussia, Austria are all friendly governments and nations in Europe, let us think that these three powers will always stick closely together and will support their conspiracy towards our downfall? A coalition swore an oath to divide France. This republic did not know that it could raise an army of millions, and kings who were defeated began to quarrel with each other and cut their ties. Not only did they not receive the trophies they had intended for themselves, but they were humiliated. Let us add that the horizon of freedom was spreading in Europe. We count 40,000,000 republicans. Poles!! How fortunate you are to have the gifts of Heaven (which others lack) that can make you a free, respected, and prosperous nation without outside help. Dare to use them, and stand firm, and the effect will crown your efforts. The Swiss fought on arid rocks without food and almost won their independence. If you are not impressed by your disgrace, the injustice done to the nation, and the laws of humanity, and kissingly bear your yoke, I will say with great pain in my soul with despair and contempt. Nation, you were born into servitude! *Gens ad servitutem nata*

Some will find it difficult to arrange a secret revolution, its explosion in the gathering of the people, to deceive the vigilance of kings.

Even if tyrants had as many armies as all of Europe has, they would not be able to prevent an uprising. Even if they put a soldier in every house, they

would not be able to station him in every field and forest. If, out of imprudence, they capture twenty out of thirty, the remaining ten may perform their duties, and the desired effect will occur. There are incidents in battles, but they will not dare to carry them out. Before the revolution moved to Warsaw, after the arrest of the Hungarian, some who worked on the uprising were afraid and left or hid, but others did not want to avoid danger and gave their word that they would continue their work even if they were arrested, even if only some remained. Others were captured, but those who remained continued the work, and the fearless spirit overcame everything, and we could see with what kind of fortune this work was crowned

I proved above that there are several points that can all occur in one day; the enemies will not be able to prevail over them. The more insurgents are displayed, the fewer will die. People will listen to the voice of freedom and equality if you proclaim it with openness and an honest heart and uphold it without guile. The need for order, the need for obedience and therefore the political establishment of a temporary government. But the organization is ready. I would like to see the patterns of the Revolution of 1794 adopted with some modifications. It is a great fortune that the generals trust in the virtue of Kościuszko. We could see how he averted disagreements, dampened pride, and redeemed all parties.

It seemed that the Poles, following that example, overestimated their virtue. The Romans were jealous of their freedom. When extraordinary passions of the people arose, in danger, in war, they resorted to dictatorship, and this means redeemed them. I would wish the directorate to last until the enemies are banished from our borders. But I would not wish this office to last. After his death, may the helm of the army pass to the government. Later, if the nation has a need for a directorate and finds a capable person, it can take over this office. I would like to see the improvement of the organisation of the National Council, namely: separate the legal procedures from the executive. We could call it a congress. The members of all offices should be re-nominated. The Congress should remain in the main camp. I would like all citizens to be closer, to have full confidence in the revolution, so that the previous states fill all magistracies with people.

Nevertheless, I do not advise starting unwisely and flighty, first it should be ensured in most provinces that on all sides there are people capable of le-

ading, of thinking correctly, knowledgeable and with character. The most challenging thing for the Poles is to keep a secret and thus ensure that each constituent member has a genuine national interest.

People assume different personas, wear different masks to reveal to the enemy, to gain office or wealth. It would be necessary to create a system to entrust to people. Some people are familiar with good rights but cannot keep a secret. Their chattiness may expose them to danger and cause more harm than open hostility. As to preparation for the various needs, proper organization, discipline, means, supplies of food, prompt communication with all so that each member may know what to do on the various occasions, only a general flame can effect the common good, and a strong conviction of the work that without equal liberty for all, without order and the virtues of republicans, we can do nothing. It is a great work to make a Pole feel what a nation needs to be free and independent. It is not enough to incite others; everyone must have a heroic soul to do good for humanity

The moral state of the Poles

Some out of fear and ignorance, others on a whim, interrupting good intentions with selfishness, can alienate with many improprieties what happened in other countries with the popular uprisings. But, apart from others, it is a simple answer, even from the Polish Revolution of 1794. People were free and armed, was that a reason for such deviations? At that time, hatred and revenge hold sway when oppression and persecution continue, but when someone opens his heart with goodwill, the bile of anger has no power over him.

In France, at the beginning of the revolution, people were calm, maybe some crimes happened in the villages, but they were again directed against those who opposed the freedom of the people. In Paris, there were crimes, but they were the art of a handful of dissolute urban gangs. Finally, how far does the French character differ from that of the Poles? We can see from French history what kind of murders and crimes occurred in the troubles of that nation, in contrast, among the Poles themselves in the war, in the ci-

vil wars the troubles ended on the battlefield, relatives were not persecuted, enemies were not sought, and no one was molested in the womb of his wife or over the corpses of small children. But it is a black slander who attributes the crimes of the French to freedom. Why were they not visible in the Swiss, Dutch, and American revolutions? Various causes led to unfortunate deviations of the French, ultimately to their own short-tempered character. What atrocities did the Huguenots and Catholics perpetrate in times of war? What was more frightening than the massacre of Saint Bartholomew? ... Did freedom contribute to it? ... In other countries fanaticism was the reason for the cruellest catastrophes. In the history of Poland there is no trace that fanaticism wanted to extend its rule. The revolution is not there to unleash the rule of exemption, it should have the goal of establishing order, to place all actions under the protection of the law, to educate to obedience to the authorities that a nation invests, to preserve the private property of each as a haven of sacred social care.

All are granted freedom and equality, but no crime is allowed. Liberty is to prevent passions from enslaving another, so that from the power of government the happiness of revolution would flow equally to all. No one should hold office who is not honest, who does not respect the property and fame of a fellow citizen, and who is not loyal to the duties of the fatherland. An official who has a pure soul has the most respected magistracy. The citizen approaches him with respect and trust and leaves him with a judgement that protects sweet serenity. Justice should be the terror of crime, but never the revenge, and a special haven of innocence. It is a grave mistake for those who have not understood that less attention should be paid to the safety of innocence in the punishment of crime. This cruel maxim caused more damage and enemies to the French Revolution than all the armies of kings. May justice in the Revolution or in any other time render equal judgments and give the greatest security to innocence. There are more innocents than criminals in the country who are punished to preserve the tranquilly of the former: Despotism is where innocence trembles before danger. Obedience, discipline, respect for citizens and property should be instilled in the army. A soldier must be a citizen and not a blind tool or an arbitrary selfhood. Whoever departs from the assigned authority, from the laws of the nation, whoever feasts on robbery and injury, is a scoundrel and a bandit.

The revolution is to correct errors, eradicate crime, and bring mutual goodwill and virtue into the hearts of all the inhabitants. It is fortunate that in the souls of the Poles the will to do good has been preserved, so that they can call themselves one of the most moral nations in Europe. If in other countries the vigilant police and the constant guards cannot completely curb crime, the Poles, from their own feeling, are indignant at the deviation. It is almost strange, but a strangeness that makes the heart cheerful, that in Poland there could be such large forests of security, without any state institutions, and the people almost everywhere were in misery. Although laxity, to some extent has become naturalised with us, but with contempt for the last king who introduced it, this unfortunate deviation will be eradicated. The Polish people are the most hospitable in Europe, showing their kind hearts. When in other countries people talk only about business, I hear a Pole talking publicly about generosity, which is a beautiful tendency to pure justice and an indication of a great character. It can also be said that the Polish nation, except for the English, has publicly made the greatest sacrifices, and that nowhere has the female sex shown its attachment to the fatherland as Polish women have. Because we are in a situation where virtue, to escape persecution, must be buried in obscurity, I will silence some names, but your ashes, virtuous Zamoyska, will not capture the vengeance of kings ... From abroad, for your acquaintance and gifts, for the gifts of compatriots and the fatherland, I bring my respect, and with it the national voice that permeates your memories, rejoices with your virtue, your compatriot, and with gratitude throws flowers on your grave.

Polish women, honoured with virtue and tenderness, turn all this to your fatherland. Remember that the subjects of your heart, all that you love, is marked with slavery and contempt like you. Tyrants look at you, as the members of a conquered people should crawl under them ... young Polish girls! Your mothers give birth to Poles, they give birth to free people, you will give birth to them, you will feed them with your breasts, you will feed the subjects of kings who by villainy have torn our nation to pieces. Instead of teaching your children virtues, you must accustom them to blind obedience, so that in time they will become mute slaves of the royal palaces. Are they worthy of the name of the fathers who are indifferent to the chains they wear and leave them to their descendants with an indifferent soul? Are

those worthy of your love who cradle themselves under contempt and want to accompany you with it? Tender and virtuous Polish women! Show that no one has a right to your heart who does not wear the thyrsus of glory in the service of the country and freedom, until he lays the laurels of victory in the church of peace over the enemies

Some think that you must enlighten people before you give them freedom. I believe that you must liberate the people before you can enlighten them. We know many peoples in history who could not read and yet were free.

Liberty is not a science, but a moral necessity of the soul, beneficial to man's happiness as fresh air is to his health. The legislature needs extensive information, and in the nation only a portion of the people sacrifice themselves for it. Is the nobility, whom we call petty, more enlightened than the peasants and yet able to live freely? How can it be that before the Revolution no one cared about their education and half of France speaks a language that is as different from French as Samogitian is from Polish. In many places in the cantonal offices there are many illiterates to this day. I assumed that a Polish peasant would have more sense than the French and no one would believe in this superstition for which Vendean peasants fought. These people were inculcated with the belief that a man will rise again within three days, and fanaticism for a weapon, belief in the resurrection. Illumination is acquired when everyone realises its necessity and usefulness. The English began to illuminate with freedom. The French before the Revolution did not concern themselves with public affairs (20), when they acquired the laws of participation in legislation, they learned and thought about the interests of a nation. J.J. — Rousseau demonstrated the laws of the people, the outspoken Mirabeau recommended their recovery to the French, and many others are still insane. In Poland the lamp of enlightenment barely flickered, and soon it was accepted, which shows the openness of mind of our countrymen. There is no sensible Pole who would not laugh at the political superstitions of the kingdom and the nobility.

Everyone knows that these beings are not of privileged reason. Where did they get the right to rule peoples without their will? Were it not for the blindness of the monarchical armies that kill everyone at the command of the one who pays them (21), who would not be ashamed to be ruled

by unreasonable ones, like some European kings. The Pole was convinced and miraculously shook off all political charlatans who insulted justice, were an affront to reason, and oppressed humanity. If only he had courage and steadfastness in his aspirations, an unsullied virtue in his conduct, it will perhaps be one of the most esteemed nations.

The state of Poland's wealth

I understand that it would be difficult to find a Pole with such a base soul who would shrink from sacrificing some of his wealth to liberate the country. I would not even want to show such base minds the future profit from sacrifice but would hold them up as an example of those who do favours for foreign courts by betraying the fatherland. Apart from the fact that they were rightly cursed by their countrymen, what did they gain from the monarchs? In their humiliated guise, they must tremble before their employers. With service to the nation, respect for countrymen and enemies, even as they stalked them everywhere, they have now become the plaything of the contempt of those at whose feet they offered gifts to the ruin of their country. Where in past and present centuries only nations have distinguished themselves by wealth, they have always obtained it with the help of freedom.

Carthage, Florence, Venice, Holland, England, how did they get their famous fortune? A man cannot be sure of the use of industry, that creative power of wealth, if freedom is not secure. Who will be more careful that what he does is not changed by anyone, if he knows that nothing can happen without his will. Frederick the Second established commercial societies like those in free countries, but he did not see any good effects they brought. In France, where freedom had barely emerged, the good things were making themselves felt. Because of the war, trade is suffering, but agriculture is growing strongly. Every Frenchman sees the country's fortunes improving with each passing day. Before the Revolution, the benefits of the earth in agriculture were calculated as one to two and a half; now they count as one to over three. The Poles have everything they need for war, they can get along wi-

thout foreign products, without engaging in foreign trade, they can live comfortably. In crops, in cotton, in wood and iron, in horses, our country is abundant, and we can have enough money, for money is not only silver or gold, but also any metal and paper, if people trust it. England, the richest country in Europe, has not a sixth part in metal money that it has in paper. Paper has credit when the government does not deviate one step from reliability, when it always keeps its promises.

The credit of the English paper money is supported by their handicraft; ours may be supported by timber and grain; this is more fundamental (22). In no country is there so much foundation to support paper credit as in Poland. The country has incommensurable national goods and has no debt. England owes ten thousand million French pounds; France, when she began her war, was in debt to the tune of four thousand million pounds. French assignats, despite these debts, had a credit in Europe, and it would not cease if the French kept within the limits of their reliability. But when they started brashly printing too much paper despite their promises, it must have fallen. We can make money any way we want, and they will always find confidence. After the war, Americans bought their paper. In peacetime, they traded them for expensive ores. The Dutch will offer us a lease. Others will bring silver and gold for crops, wood, etc. Factory owners will come to a fertile land under the care of wise laws. In times of revolution, we must make sacrifices, we should be content with little if we want freedom, the benefits of millions will return later. We can compare the sacrifices for the revolution with these expenses to promote good in the fertile land. We have a very fortunate country, many river channels, and where there are obstacles, we can make them useful with art. At last, by building canals with new methods, we can create new trade routes throughout Poland between all voivodeships. The Dutch, in freedom, blocked the sea with embankments, the Swiss created fertile fields from rocks, the Americans doubled their population in 20 years (which, according to Smith, that does not happen in other countries even in 500 years), what will we not achieve with such a fortunate country?

Poles! I have shown you ways to independence. I no longer arouse in your noble despair (you have given proof), but I persuade to certain victories, for you will throw yourself with courage against the enemies. You have everything you need for victory, only dare to be victorious. If you

fight courageously, the enemy, even if he is more numerous than now, cannot even defeat you. Even if you cannot break your yoke, do not blame Heaven, for you yourself are the cause of your tragedy. I see an executed righteousness rotting in slavery, looking with an indifferent eye at trampled justice and oppressed humanity ... Who among the Poles will be associated with a life poisoned with ignominy? Will you not associate with those who, having suffered wounds, having endured the torments of royal prisons, carry the remnants of their blood for the liberation of their fatherland? What noble aspirations are these, whose glory tramples the hydra of tyranny and raises again the altars of sacred liberty. I feel a joyful trembling in the membranes of my heart! What a beautiful sight to see the victorious foreheads of free men, in whose hearts burns a fire of virtue! Happy he who consorts with a member of such a people; how much respect received from him elevates the soul of men ... what joy in the conscience, even in the midst of persecution, to remember, to be reminded, that I have helped to break the chains of countrymen and to bestow upon them sweet liberties of nature! Every man, as Montesquieu said, is capable of becoming like God, who contributes to the happiness of the whole people (*).

(*) *Lettres persannes*, tom. I, no. 89
Year 1800 in the month of June.

ANNOTATIONS

(1) In the revolution of 1794 it could be seen from the papers of the Moscow legation that the king himself was not afraid to draw a salary from the Petersburg court.

(2) In Poland, no thought was ever given to what kind of resources, how to multiply them and how to use them. If someone wanted to establish a confederation, he always secured backing, that is, one of the courts gave him money and some supplies, the rest was taken by each side from contributions, and if the matter was not successful, the court that cared secured an amnesty that covered everything. Thus, the weaker returned home with a horse and poverty, the magnates with money from courts or even starosty. This long-rooted dependence persists to this day. A Polish nobleman does not ask for the methods to liberate the fatherland, he does not seek them, but he seeks backing and probes the forces behind Poland. I thought that the mediocre and the poor have a great virtuous attachment to the country and make honest sacrifices of their wealth and their lives. They are not used to political deception, they do not inquire about foreign associations, but strive to fulfil the responsibility and liberate. But some, being rotten, will not make a move if the merciful eye of the Petersburg court, Berlin or Vienna does not wink, or if the millions of Frenchmen would not come. Great Czarnecki! You have not travelled through foreign courts and countries to fetch help. The misfortunes of your countrymen have heated your brave soul, you have sobered your countrymen, the attachment to your country has given you graveness, and you have freed it from the floods of enemies. Virtuous Kościuszko! You did not ask powers when you rushed alone in your person to free your countrymen from the chains of slavery, you found treasures and resources of chivalry and arms among the people that others despised... Fate, misfortune itself, prevented your great work, but your genius will undermine the bent fatherland, and the Pole will have a sweet joy in civic thyrsus and a respectful gratitude in the scars acquired in the defence of freedom. It must be that these Poles who seek backing know that without a heart, without a head, without a soul, backing is worthless, and it is the last part of the body.

(3) The Poles are in error if they do not understand that the French are generally enlightened, that every one of them is fit to be an officer, and that he has all the acquaintances necessary for it. This deficiency is evident in the army, French generals confirm that Polish officers are better than their own.

Let us point out our faults but let us respect ourselves and leave ourselves to justice if we deserve it. There is such a relationship between French heads as there is between other peoples

(4) How much it dishonours the Poles (it seems that they are fighting not for freedom but for the business of an individual) that after the catastrophe of Maciejowice they seem to have no soul left to act. If the Romans lamented their fatherland after the lost battle of Cannae, Rome would perish under the yoke of Carthage. But the courage of their souls outweighed all misfortunes. Instead of accusing the generals who had lost the battle, they sent envoys from the Senate to those returning from the battlefields, thanking them for returning to their fatherland and not doubting the whole. Thanks to this great character, the Romans, without sciences, triumphed over their enemies and achieved the miracle that one city ruled over the whole world. Poles, be able to be great-minded and courageous in adversity, and you will triumph over your tyrants

(5) The American Revolution began. In 1775, the alliance with France was made, and in 1778, the treaty was concluded, and the French troops went to the American states after the victory over Bourguignon, when this general was forced to lay down his arms by 12,000 Englishmen. The Americans were almost certain of their independence at that time.

(6) Reading the Monitor at that time, one could see that such a large number of Frenchmen were going to Champagne that the generals wrote to the Convention to stop them, since such a quantity was not necessary. The Prussian king had to surrender, and then the French almost gave him a blessing when they allowed him to withdraw. It was freedom alone that produced this zeal and brought together so many inhabitants. We can find no trace in French history of the people gathering with such enthusiasm after the invasion of the enemy

(7) We can read it everywhere, even in Suvorov's campaigns

(8) This figure did not come from a reflection but is supported by reports. The line from Narew to Grodno and the army in Warsaw had 28,000 men, of whom 16,000 defended the capital, 12,000 were positioned along the Narew River

(9) I have not calculated the population of England, Spain and Portugal, but only those that exist in Europe. If the settlements occupied many ene-

mies of France, like the population of Moscow Asia in relation to us, we would have to calculate at least 1:15. The inhabitants of the English settlements, Portuguese, Spaniards and Indians did not fight against the French, but the resources and treasures of these countries were very helpful to the enemies of France

(10) The stream of freedom flows faster and faster to neighbouring countries because they have a greater opportunity to see the positive effects. At the beginning of the French Revolution, no one thought of the Cisalpine Republic, the Roman, on example of Swiss and the Dutch. Our enemies are resisting the introduction of freedom in Poland by all methods, because its beautiful example can do the most harm as a storm against their thrones.

(11) Folard showed that the old weapons, pikes and the like, were more useful than the rifle. Loyd, one of the most judicious military writers, is of similar opinion, advising the use of at least one column of pikes in the infantry. Some show the uselessness of the rifle to such an extent that after a hundred shots only three do effective damage. In close quarters, firearms can be used, but if the combatants mix, then the shooting must stop

(12) If anyone tells me that the enemy fought the Kossyniers, I will reply that the enemy also beat the brave French with their cannons, rifles and bayonets. War is fought mainly by gambling, it must be interwoven with luck and misfortune, after all, it is the human actions in which mistakes must happen. The point is to show the good weapons that lead to victory, with the French it is the bayonet, with us it may be a scythe

(13) Loyd remarks that the three things which are most conducive to the courage of a soldier fighting for liberty are religion and robbery. The former is highly praised, and men perform the most heroic miracles: 300 Spartans stopped numerous Persian armies at Thermopylae, 800 Swiss stopped 30,000 French. Religion, or rather fanaticism, inflames the spirit. A man who believes that he has an award from God for whom he fights, throws himself furiously into dangers. But there is a difference between the courage of freedom and the courage of fanaticism: the former arises from the great enthusiasm of the soul, which fills the heart with the dearest feelings and gives intensity and power to all the strengths and qualities of the mind. Fanaticism gives strength to the soul, but it fills man with blindness and blocks the rise of thought, which is why it will never

equal the heroism of freedom. Man feels freedom as a heritage of nature, as a dear and innate good, his struggle and goal is virtue, fanaticism is the product of imagination, therefore all movements of the soul are works of art. A fanatic does not try to defeat the enemy, but to kill him, and therefore often exposes himself unreasonably. But even fanaticism has a germ of independence and freedom. A person wants to believe what he wants, only reason can disarm him. Religious wars should not be waged against Poland, because this country, fortunately, has not persecuted anyone for his faith. In this regard, the government should imitate heaven, which rains a fertile dew equally for all religions. There were times when people killed each other for the many gods they created for themselves, but today Europe is convinced that the God of nature does not need the streams of blood from creatures unable to embrace his essence, he only gifts them with good things. No power can use war or religion against Poland. However, Moscow has done violence to the conscience. Now the priests of all religions in Poland are all too enlightened with injustice, fraud and rape of kings to fall into their traps. The third kind of incentive, with robbery, is extremely harmful. A soldier leaves the limits of discipline, gets used to deviations, loses his bravery because he wastes it on the immorality of his trophies, and therefore the courage in him diminishes, either he hides them and avoids the battle so that the enemy does not take away his booty, or so that he has the time to use them later, the Poles and their army should always have a trait of morality. Montecuculli, not knowing great means of persuasion or unable to use them under the yoke of monarchy, resorts to liquor and other bland means: See, vol, 11, k 134. I do not think about demonstrating their insignificance because everyone could notice them.

(14) I reckon political opinions on religion as they were in times of war between Protestants and Catholics. If a Catholic were in a Protestant army, would he be able to exact vengeance against Catholics? I would wish that no one should be enlisted who was not sincerely attached to the opinion of liberty. In the French armies, from the beginning, the officers have persistently proclaimed these laws in their speeches. It is seen that none of the French generals of the old government had no glory during the Revolution, but they had plenty of learning. Famous French gene-

rals did their deeds with the help of freedom, but there were also almost unlearned. I respect learning, but it is nature that gives qualities to the general. Charlemagne could not write and yet he conquered Europe. Mirabeau, in his work on the Prussian monarchy, mentions the secretary of the Brunswick prince who gave him all the plans, and he was never in an army. Since some of our generals had connections with kings, they were against everything that the Revolution brought. Instead of inspiring confidence in arms, which was the scythe, instead of convincing the people, they despised them. The incessant silence of the generals confused the people. Since they never professed freedom, never mentioned it, the fighting people could have thought that it was a vain promise. The coldness with which they proclaimed freedom was evident even among the civilian officials, without whom we could not and must not defeat the enemy. I remember what a compatriot said to me: I will not eat; I will give to the soldier and I will fight myself. Let me quote what a Lithuanian peasant said to a republican general: show us, he said, „excellent freedom, and we will not rely on a fifth of us or on the recruit but will go to battle ourselves”. Such people cannot be conquered

(15) L'usage de cette arme terrible etoit de l'invention de Kosciuszko.

Campagnes de Suwarów, vol. 11 pag. 154

(16) I take no advantage of war among us, that on seeing numerous enemies to attack and perish without consideration, we should not condemn the people, who, if judiciously employed, may harm the enemy. Let the people make great efforts to gather from the front, from the back, from the sides everywhere to harass the enemy and attack him at the right time, especially at night. On this rests our victory, that we have been able to hold out for a long time and have always been numerous

(17) C'etoit la tete de l'hydre que ces Polonois, ils se reproduisoient partout

Campagnes de Suworów, vol. 1, p. 60.

(18) Car sans le secours de ceux qui en sont et qui en connoissent les detours et les endroits, qui peuvent server a la ruse et a l'artifice, disoit le grand Gustave, le plus grand capitainedu monde n'executerait jamais rien de fort eclatant

Folard. Histoire de Polybe. Pref. vol. 1, p. 38

(19) In Italy, the inhabitants shut themselves up in the cities for defence, and if they had no place to hide, they were always captured

(20) In France, before the Revolution, it was not expected that there would be more than one newspaper. In 1797, there were 160 newspapers in Paris, apart from departmental newspapers. 40,000 were published daily from Paris and the provinces

(21) It is an honourable status of the soldier in a free nation who sacrifices his life for the defence of his countrymen. But how base is he who blindly does harm, kills at the command of the monarch, and is ready to trample under foot all the laws of nature: A monarch whose interest is always that his will be law, whim — graveness, and who always wishes the people to be as slow as cattle going quietly under the hand of slaughter. In a monarchical soldier the order of the ruler is higher than justice, he respects it like the highest wisdom, even if it would contradict the simplest mind, he is ready to fulfil the rape of the most sacred feeling of nature and what is more heinous than that?

(22) In Poland with mediocre taxes, without collection from private property, a revolution can be carried out. The large national estates provide sufficient funds to wage war and reward the country's defenders. On the other hand, the thrift and good intentions of the Polish army guarantee successful effects on the national treasury. The Polish soldier was a republican, he did not seek display as a slave of the monarchy, but saw in every dress what suited him, in acts of virtue and fighting spirit, seeking only worthy glory. We have seen monetary sacrifices by some, and if a necessity arose, no one would protest if suffering withdrew for a moment.

Józef Pawlikowski
(1767–1829)

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